5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

triwangsă people (high caste, Brahman, Satryĕ, or Wĕsyă), and according to the prince in the palace at Tabanan, all those who are not of high caste are *salah*.

That is the end of this unusually full lontar regarding twins. Recently a case of twins born to Chinese people living in Bulĕlèng occasioned discussion of the various customs in the Balinese magazine Bhawanagara [1]). One author recommends the *adat* from Kabă-Kabă, Tabanan, as a good one to be followed, and quotes from a lontar originating there. The quotations are in modern Balinese, but must be taken either from the same lontar which I have summarized, or from a transcription of it, for it agrees on all points with the other text. Although not so full in directions for the ceremonies, the various differences in the births, with their special names, correspond — for one placenta, for a difference in time between the births, for the birth of the boy first, or the girl, for triplets of which two are boys, and triplets of which two are girls, and the same distinction between ordinary people and those of high caste birth. The lontar is very generous in the exemptions from *manak salah* which it allows. Firstly, all high caste people seem to be exempt, not only the king and the high priests as we found before. Then any birth which can be called "single", either because there is only one placenta, or because the children are born with an intervening time period, does not seem to require banishment. And of boy and girl twins, if the boy is born first, it is a good sign — although the last paragraph suggests that this does not hold good for Sudră's.

A Brahman scholar of Sanur made the following report after consulting the lontars of his Padandă:

> If in Bali Sudră people have twins *manak salah*, it is called *bunching* when the girl is first and the boy comes after. This is said to threaten the safety of the country, and so the children

[1]) *Bhawanagara*, Taboen III, No. 8 (1934). *Pertanja'an tentang adat*. p. 126 and *Indik Manak Salah*, p. 127.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

Neither of these sorts of twins threatens the country. But the lontar says it is just as well to have the ceremony or the *charu*.

And if anyone has three children born at once, of which two are boys and one a girl, that is called *katiruju* (*kati-juru* in the Tabanan lontar), and is extremely dangerous to the country, and these children must be set down on the sea-shore. According to custom two of the children are cast away, and then picked up by another person, not their mother. In this case there must be the ceremony *mĕdudus* at the Balé Agung.

And if anyone brings forth one boy and two girls, they do not become *sĕbĕl* and their house is not moved, because in this case, it is said, the country begins to be prosperous and healthy, and diseases will not spread.

This set of rules makes apparent gradations in the wrongness of *manak salah*, so that the only really evil birth seems to be when to low-caste people a girl is born before a boy and there are two placentas — except of course in the case of the very rare unlucky triplets. And the matter of the placentas is not based on physiological fact, for if the two adhere they are considered as one. The obscurities in the texts allow room for interpretation in favor of those concerned. In a case of boy and girl twins born to Jabă people in Sanur last year, the family was not banished, no *mĕcharu* was held, and the villagers did not consider themselves *sĕbĕl*, but continued to go to the temples only because the boy had been born first. The Padandă of Intaran, and the Brahman Balian, who normally should have officiated, did not approve of their omitting the ceremonies, and said that at the latest the people must have a *mĕcharu* during the ninth month (four months after the birth).

A report has been made in the magazine *Bhawanagara* covering the ancient adat of two Bali Agă villages in the district of Bangli, Bu'ungan [1]) and Lumbuan [2]). The an-

[1]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-desa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara*, Tahoen III, No. 4-5, 1933.

[2]) Idă Bagus Adiptă, *Menjelidiki adat-adat koena didésa-désa dalem bilangan negara Bangli. Bhawanagara* Tahoen II, No. 8-9, 1933.